

PAKANI: A GORWAA STORY

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ABSTRACT

Though formal linguistics may seem far removed from projects of decolonization, the materials with which linguists work are often rich with insights into other ways of knowing, other ways of living, and, for the purposes of this volume, other ways of navigating colonial power. *Pakani*, a story gathered within a larger project to understand the grammar of the Gorwaa language, is a vivid account of how the Gorwaa people responded to a mandatory military training programme in which every able-bodied young man was to be sent far away from the traditional homeland and incorporated into a national fighting force. For a descriptive linguist, *Pakani* is a useful source of grammatical structures. For a reader interested in learning about how one group of people engaged with the sweeping changes brought about by European colonization of East Africa, *Pakani* represents one of the few Gorwaa accounts available in English. This paper presents 134 lines of the *Pakani* story, transcribed, translated into English, along with a linguistic gloss of the words. Additionally, each line of text given may be resolved back to its original utterance in an open access audiovisual record available online through the Endangered Languages Archive at SOAS.

INTRODUCTION

As a descriptive linguist, much of my work revolves around grammatical structures: observing their distribution, describing their properties, and explaining the system underlying their instantiation. As highly removed from projects of decolonization as this may seem, the materials with which linguists work are often rich with insights into other ways of knowing, other ways of living, and, for the purpose of this current volume, other ways of navigating colonial power.

Pakani, a story gathered within a larger project to understand the grammar of the Gorwaa language, is a vivid account of how the Gorwaa people responded to a mandatory military training programme in which every able-bodied young man was to be sent far away from the traditional homeland and incorporated into a national fighting force. For a descriptive linguist, *Pakani* is a useful source of grammatical structures, laid out below in detail. For a reader interested in learning about how one group of people engaged with the sweeping changes brought about by European colonization of East Africa, *Pakani* represents one of the few Gorwaa accounts available in English.

Put differently, the current paper is an exercise in multi-use archiving. Collected by a linguist, the *Pakani* story -- a Gorwaa oral text translated into English as part of the process of linguistic analysis -- is now, with the informed consent of Aakó Bu'ú Saqwaré, openly available online, and accessible to virtually anyone with Internet access. As description of the Gorwaa language continues, so too will the volume and variety of Gorwaa materials (made by Gorwaa people and often, as with *Pakani*, with a Gorwaa audience in mind) increase. For linguists, this is valuable in that it increases the grammatical structures available for the analysis of an underdocumented language. For those engaged in projects of decolonization, this represents a growing body of insight and experience from a people who have experienced (and still do experience) colonialism, and who have come to engage with it in their own way.

BACKGROUND

The Gorwaa constitute a small ethnic group of the eastern branch of the Eastern Tanzanian Rift, and are concentrated primarily in Manyara region, especially in and around Babati and its nearby lake. At the time of recording, the Gorwaa were primarily farmers, but also keep small flocks of goats, sheep, and cattle (all three of which play an important role in Gorwaa culture and their pastoralist identity). The Gorwaa language itself is South Cushitic (phylum: Afro-Asiatic), therefore making it markedly different from the majority of languages in the country, which are Bantu. Recent changes to Gorwaa society, including increasing urbanization and a national government policy which all but bans local languages being used in public life has meant that fewer people are speaking Gorwaa, and fewer children are learning Gorwaa. As a result, the Gorwaa language is endangered, and will face significant challenges to remain spoken into the coming centuries (Harvey 2018: 37-46). Academic work about the Gorwaa people and language is scarce, but some sources include early accounts from explorers (Seidel (1910), Obst (1913), Reche (1914)), a traditional story transcribed and translated into German (Heepe (1930)), a pair of ethnographical accounts (Bagshawe (1930), Wada (1984)), a linguistic analysis in which some Gorwaa data is used in

comparison with another nearby Cushitic language, Iraqw (Whiteley (1958)), a detailed examination of forestry and land-use in and around Babati (Maganga (1995)), and a PhD dissertation on nominal morphosyntax including a sketch grammar (Harvey (2018)).

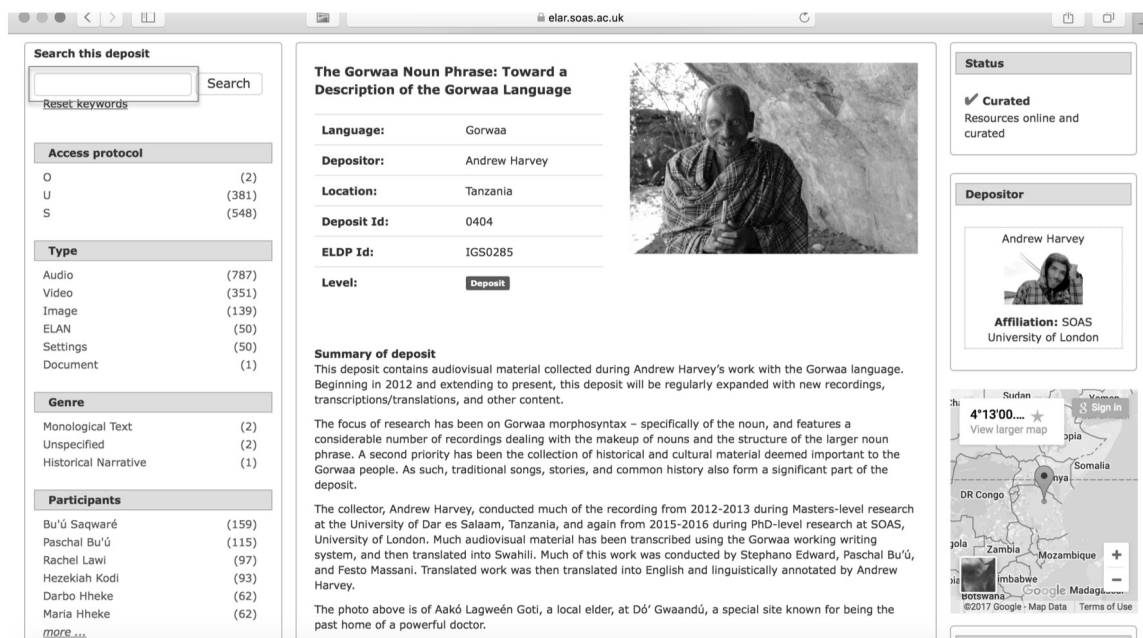
Pakani was recorded on the 2nd of November, 2015 in Yerotonik village, itself a small community in Manyara Region, north-central Tanzania. The storyteller is Aakó Bu'ú Saqwaré, a consummate singer and knowledge-holder. Born in 1954, Aakó Bu'ú was 61 years old at the time of telling and has spent all of his life in and around what may be construed as the traditional Gorwaa homeland.

Pakani, itself a word borrowed from Swahili, meaning 'borderland' is the story of a historical event which took place either before or shortly after Aakó Bu'ú's birth (that is, it is not told from his personal memory, but has been told to him either in whole or in parts). It happens during a time when the British colonial power exercised Indirect Rule over what is now Tanzania: a policy wherein ethnic groups were governed through chiefs and subchiefs, who in turn were compelled in various ways to carry out the agendas of the colonial administration (Cameron 1937, Ingham 1965, Graham 1976, and Iliffe 1979). In the Gorwaa context, this meant that the existing hereditary chieftdom of the *Harna/aa* clan was given extraordinary new powers to levy taxes, execute colonial works projects such as forest-clearing, as well as punish those who did not comply (often through fines or corporal punishment). This particular story recalls the fallout from the imposition of mandatory military training: the ways and means employed by the paramount chief Dodó Uwo (also pronounced Dodoód) to ensure compliance from his people, and the resistance and defiance of those young men targeted.

The story begins in the miombo woodlands characteristic of the area: hilly forests of *bracystegia* within which the young men of Gorwaaland had withdrawn (ln.8-16), seeking safety in numbers from the *boyáy* (c.f. English 'boy'), low-level village headmen employed by Dodó to arrest the young men for transport to the Kenyan border in the north of the country for six months of dangerous military training. Having seen that physical force alone would not work in achieving the desired number of recruits, Dodó turns to the help of the traditional doctors Barandi Kulee and Leeli Tumla, and together they create a powerful medicine to compel the recalcitrant youth to lay down their weapons and to go to the recruiting station of their own accord (ln.17-34). At Babati, the largest community in the area, the youth were weighed (ln.35-47). If an individual was deemed fit, they would be put on a lorry and brought north to the Kenyan border (*pakani*). Images of desperation are evoked here: fathers pleading with Dodó to spare their sons, going so far as to offer prized cattle in exchange for their freedom. The fear and anger of the recruits is also evident once they board the transport vehicles (ln.48-61), where Dodó's medicine seems to wear off and they begin cursing him for selling them to a foreign land full of danger and uncertainty. Dodó isn't, however, the unscrupulous profiteer the youth see him as. During the military training, the Gorwaa traditional doctors under Dodó's employ are all busy preparing protective medicine to keep the young trainees safe while far from home (ln.62-72). They go so far as to bewitch a bird to fly to the borderland and bring back news of their plight. Upon their return, however (ln.73-100), the youth lambast Dodó in a defiant song, calling the paramount chief and his co-conspirators liars. Enraged at the thankless youth (ln.101-120), Dodó visits the rainmakers, powerful men and women with whom he has traditionally acted as an intermediary for his people. Once there, he conducts rituals which disrupt the seasonal

rains on which his people rely for their food, delivering a devastating multi-year famine as retribution for their contempt. Following three years of famine (ln.121-124), the customary Gorwaa elders gather to mediate a solution. The youth, no doubt ruined by the lack of harvest, ask forgiveness from their leader and administrator Dodó, cattle are brought as ritual atonement, and the rains return once again.

This is, of course, one reading of a complex text, and the reader is challenged to come up with their own. This is facilitated by the provision of the transcription, free translation, and linguistic gloss below. Additionally, the audio and video associated with this story are openly available as part of the Gorwaa deposit at SOAS' Endangered Languages Archive (Harvey 2017). Below, the title of the story has been given along with an alphanumeric code ([20151202e]): the unique identifying number of the recording which allows the reader to locate the recording within the archive. This can be done by visiting the deposit page (<https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1014224>) and entering the unique identifying number into the box titled 'Search this deposit' in the upper left corner, as shown in Figure 1. This will lead to the contents of the specific bundle, which can be viewed and downloaded.



The screenshot shows the ELAR (Endangered Languages Archive) deposit page for 'The Gorwaa Noun Phrase: Toward a Description of the Gorwaa Language'. The page is divided into several sections:

- Search this deposit:** A search bar with the text 'Search' and a 'Reset keywords' link.
- Access protocol:** A table showing access protocols and their counts:

O	(2)
U	(381)
S	(548)
- Type:** A table showing document types and their counts:

Audio	(787)
Video	(351)
Image	(139)
ELAN	(50)
Settings	(50)
Document	(1)
- Genre:** A table showing genres and their counts:

Monological Text	(2)
Unspecified	(2)
Historical Narrative	(1)
- Participants:** A table showing participants and their counts:

Bu'ú Saqwaré	(159)
Paschal Bu'ú	(115)
Rachel Lawi	(97)
Hezekiah Kodi	(93)
Darbo Hheke	(62)
Maria Hheke	(62)
- The Gorwaa Noun Phrase: Toward a Description of the Gorwaa Language:** A section with a title, a photo of a man, and a description of the deposit. It includes fields for Language (Gorwaa), Depositor (Andrew Harvey), Location (Tanzania), Deposit Id (0404), and ELDP Id (IGS0285). A 'Deposit' button is also present.
- Summary of deposit:** A paragraph describing the deposit's content, mentioning audiovisual material collected during Andrew Harvey's work with the Gorwaa language, beginning in 2012 and extending to the present.
- Status:** A section indicating the deposit is 'Curated' and 'Resources online and curated'.
- Depositor:** A section showing the depositor's name (Andrew Harvey), a photo, and affiliation (SOAS University of London).
- Map:** A map showing the location of the deposit in Tanzania, with coordinates 4°13'00" and a 'View larger map' link.

Figure 1: Deposit page with 'Search this deposit' in the upper left

The number given to each line of text corresponds to the number of the phrase segment in the ELAN (.eaf) file. Once the reader has accessed the bundle from the deposit page, they may download its contents (.wav and/or .mp4, and .eaf), and simply search within the ELAN file to the exact number cited (as shown in Figure 2) in order to listen to and view the exact moment in the recording in which the utterance of choice was produced.

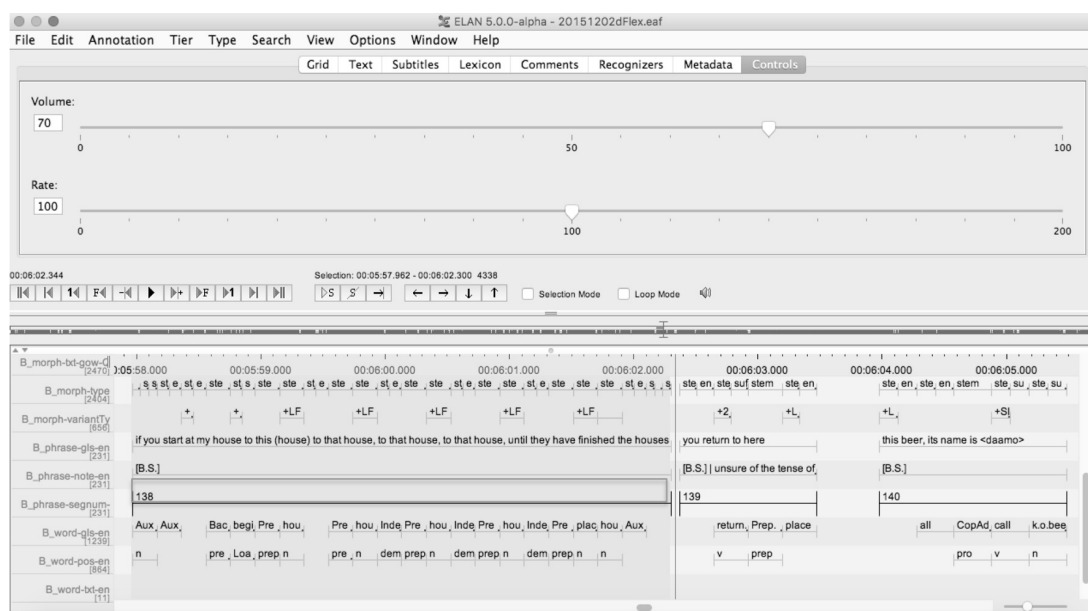


Figure 2: ELAN file with 'phrase segment number' as the fourth tier from the bottom

THE STORY

PAKANI [20151202E]^{1,2}

- 1 *aree* *ya*
 ár -ee *ya*
 see -Imp.Sg.O *thus*
 look here

- 2 *aáng* *pakani*
 aáng *pakani* -r'
 in.the.past *borderland* -L.Fr
 in the past, the borderland

¹ Correspondence between special characters in the Gorwaa orthography and pronunciation (IPA symbol): ny [ɲ], ng [ŋ], ' [ʔ], q [qʰ], sh [ʃ], x [x], hh [h], / [ʕ], y [j], sl [tʃ], j [dʒ], ts [tsʰ], tl [tʰ], kw [kw], gw [gw], ngw [ŋw], qw [qʷ], xw [xw]. A single vowel is short in length (e.g. o [o]), and a double vowel is long in length (e.g. oo [o:]). Vowels without an accent diacritic are level pitch-accent. Vowels with an acute diacritic are rising pitch accent. Vowels with a grave diacritic are falling pitch-accent. Vowels with a circumflex diacritic are rising-falling pitch accent.

² Glossing generally follows the Leipzig Glossing Conventions. Abbreviations: A = agent of transitive clause; Abl = ablative; Ana = anaphoric pronoun; Aux = auxiliary; Back = background 'tense'; Consec = consecutive 'tense'; Dem1 = demonstrative, first degree deixis; Dem2 = demonstrative, second degree deixis, Dem3 = demonstrative, third degree deixis, Dem4 = demonstrative, fourth degree deixis; Emph = emphasis; Expect = expectative aspect; F = feminine gender; Fr = feminine r-type subgender; Ft = feminine t-type subgender; Imp = imperative mood; Imprf = imperfective aspect; L = linker; Lat = lative; LPA = level pitch accent; M = masculine gender; Mk = masculine k-type subgender; Mo = masculine o-type subgender; MP = mediopassive voice; N = neuter gender; Na = neuter a-type subgender; N∅ = neuter ∅-type subgender; Neg = negative; P = patient of transitive clause, or speech act participant; Poss = possessive determiner; Prep = preposition; Prf = perfect aspect; Pro = pronoun; Prohib = prohibitive mood; Pst = past tense; Q = question; Reas = reason; Red = reduplication; S = sole argument of intransitive clause; Temp = temporal; Top = topic; Vent = ventive; 1 = 1st person; 2 = 2nd person; 3 = 3rd person

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- 10 *masoombár* *ar* *dirí* *Yerotoni sleemeroo*
 masoomba -r' *ar* *di* *-r'* *-í* *Yerotoni sleemeroo*
 youth *-L.Fr* *Ana.F* *place* *-L.Fr* *-Dem1* *Yerotoni entirely*
- in* *burumburit* *dirqá'*
 i- Ø -n *burumburiít* *~LPA~* *di* *-r'* *-qá'*
 S.3- Aux -Expect *gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~* *place* *-L.Fr* *-Dem3*
- ar* *idór* *dirí* *kitaangwí*
 ar *ido* *-r'* *di* *-r'* *-í* *kitaangw* *-ó* *-í*
 Ana.F *manner -L.Fr* *place* *-L.Fr* *-Dem1* *chair* *-L.Mo* *-Dem1*
- in* *burumburit* *gawá*
 i- Ø -n *burumburiít* *~LPA~* *gawá*
 S.3- Aux -Expect *gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~* *on*
- tloomaà*
 tloomaa *-r'* *~`~*
 mountain *-L.Fr* *~Emph~*
 the youth of here, Yerotoni, all of them withdrew to there where I sat, they withdrew to the hill
- 11 *ar bartaqá'* *aqo* *in*
 ar *bara -tá* *-qá'* *Ø* *-qo* *i- Ø -n*
 Ana.F *side -L.Ft* *-Dem3* *Aux* *-Emph* *S.3- Aux* *-Expect*
- burumburit* *dir'in* *gawá*
 burumburiít *~LPA~* *di* *-r'* *-ín* *gawá*
 gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~ *place* *-L.Fr* *-Poss.3Pl* *on*
- tloomaà* *toqá'* *dir'in* *neer*
 tloomaa -r' *~`~* *tí* *-qá'* *di* *-r'* *-ín* *neer*
 mountain -L.Fr *Emph* *DemF* *-Dem3* *place* *-L.Fr* *-Poss.3Pl* *with*
- lawulu'in*
 lawulu -' -ín
 spears -L.NØ -Poss.3Pl
 there they withdrew together in their place in the hill, there in their place with their spears
- 12 *alafu*
 alafu
 then
 then

- 13
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|----------|-------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>ta</i> | | <i>watlikáng</i> | | <i>aqo</i> | | <i>fa/oo'in</i> | |
| t- Ø | | waátl | -ikáng | Ø -qo | | fa/a -' | -'ín |
| MP- Aux | | return.(intrans.) | -Neg.Pst | Aux -Emph | | ugali | -L.N0 -Poss.3Pl |
| <i>kin</i> | | | | <i>/aay</i> | | <i>tan</i> | |
| t- ng- i- Ø -n | | | | /aáy ~LPA~ | | t- Ø -n | |
| MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Expect | | | | eat ~Subj~ | | MP- Aux -Expect | |
- waatl*
waátl ~LPA~
return.(intrans.) ~Subj~
they did not return, they would eat their ugali then they would return [to the hills]
- 14
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| <i>fa/oo'in</i> | | <i>kin</i> | | | | | |
| fa/a -' -'ín | | t- ng- i- Ø -n | | | | | |
| ugali -L.N0 -Poss.3Pl | | MP- A.3- P.1Sg- Aux -Expect | | | | | |
| <i>/aay</i> | | <i>aqo</i> | | <i>idosi</i> | | | |
| /aáy ~LPA~ | | Ø -qo | | ido -r' -sí | | | |
| eat ~Subj~ | | Aux -Emph | | manner -L.Fr -Dem2 | | | |
| <i>iwiwito'in</i> | | <i>aqo</i> | | <i>tlatla'aangwoo</i> | | | |
| iwiwit -ó -'ín | | Ø -qo | | tlatla'aangw -ó -oo | | | |
| sitting -L.Mo -Poss.3Pl | | Aux -Emph | | midday -L.Mo -Top | | | |
| <i>idór</i> | <i>kin</i> | | | <i>ohiingw</i> | | | |
| ido -r' t- ng- i- Ø -n | | | | ohiingw -ó | | | |
| manner -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.1Sg- Aux -Expect | | | | seizing -L.Mo | | | |
| <i>áy</i> | | | | | | | |
| áy ~^~ | | | | | | | |
| go ~Q~ | | | | | | | |
- they would eat in this way, their sitting was in the afternoon - in this way how were they to be arrested?**
- 15
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|--|----------|-------------|--------------|--|
| <i>wawitumó</i> | | <i>daqay</i> | | <i>a</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>boyay</i> | |
| wawitumo -ó | | daqay ~LPA~ | | Ø | ma | boyay -ó | |
| chief -L.Mo | | attend ~Subj~ | | Aux | which grunt | -L.Mo | |
| <i>idór</i> | <i>daqay</i> | <i>ngu</i> | | | | | |
| ido -r' daqay ~LPA~ | | ng- u- Ø | | | | | |
| manner -L.Fr attend ~Subj~ | | A.3- P.M- Aux | | | | | |
| <i>gasikeê</i> | | | | | | | |
| gaás -ikáng -oo ~^~ | | | | | | | |
| kill -Neg.Pst -Top ~Q~ | | | | | | | |
- the leader who would come was who? how could the grunts go? wouldn't they be killed?**

- 16 *hee i silahár kon muukú*
 hee -ó i- Ø silahá -r' koóm ~LPA~ muu -kú
 person -L.Mo MP.S.3- Aux weapon -L.Fr have.M ~Subj~ people -L.Mk
silahár kon heé
 silahá -r' koóm ~LPA~ hee -ó
 weapon -L.Fr be.together ~Subj~ person -L.Mo
ngu harahi'iit
 ng- u- Ø harahi'iit ~^~
 A.3- P.M- Aux move ~Q~
a person with weapons, people (with) weapons, who will move them?
- 17 *gár tawa slahhaá qeeru*
 ga -r' t- Ø -wa slahhaá ~'~ qeeru -ó
 thing -L.Fr MP- Aux -Back hurt.(intrans) ~Pst~ intelligence -L.Mo
kuna warqeés
 t- ng- u- Ø -na warqeés ~'~
 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf turn.around.(trans.) ~Pst~
hee ta bay Dodoód a wawitumó
 hee -ó t- Ø báy ~LPA~ Dodoód Ø wawitumo -ó
 person -L.Mo MP- Aux call ~Subj~ Dodoód Aux chief -L.Mo
Gorwaa
 Gorwaa -'
 Gorwaa.people -L.NØ
when the thing tired them [the leaders], they changed their philosophy. a person called Dodoód was the leader of the Gorwaa.
- 18 *wawitumó gadaee a milá ge*
 wawitumo -ó ga -r' -dá' -oo Ø milá ge
 chief -L.Mo thing -L.Fr -Dem4 -Top Aux what Emph
the leader of that is what? [i.e. trying to remember the colonial title for chief]
- 19 *wawitumó Gorwaa*
 wawitumo -ó Gorwaa -'
 chief -L.Mo Gorwaa.people -L.NØ
leader of the Gorwaa
- 20 *wawitumó Gorwaa ta kahi aáng*
 wawitumo -ó Gorwaa -' t- Ø káh -i aáng
 chief -L.Mo Gorwaa -L.NØ MP- Aux say -N in.the.past
Gorwaa said wawutumo in the past

- 21 *a wawitumò Gorwaa taqo*
 Ø wawitumo -ó ~`~ Gorwaa -' t- Ø -qo
 Aux chief -L.Mo ~Emph~ Gorwaa.people -L.NØ MP- Aux -Emph
kahi a wawitumò
 káh -i Ø wawitumo -ó ~`~
 say -3.Subj Aux chief -L.Mo ~Emph~
wawutumo, Gorwaa said wawutumo
- 22 *ee Dodó aáng ta kahi a*
 ee Dodó aáng t- Ø káh -i Ø
 yes Dodó in.the.past MP- Aux say -3.Subj Aux
wawitumò
 wawitumo -ó ~`~
 chief -L.Mo ~Emph~
yes, in the past, they said Dodó was the wawutumo
- 23 *a boyimowoká boyimo a heé*
 Ø boyimó -ó -oo -aká boyimo -ó Ø hee -ó
 Aux grunt -L.Mo -Top -Neg.Pres grunt -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo
amaohin
 seize
he wasn't a grunt, a grunt is a person who arrests people
- 24 *ga/awusmo a heé ta kitaangwi*
 ga/awusmo -ó Ø hee -ó t- Ø kitaangw -ó -i
 official -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo MP- Aux chair -L.Mo -Ill
ay
 áw ~LPA~
 go ~Subj~
a ga/awusmo is an official [lit. a person who goes to the chair]
- 25 *adór hindí bilí tawa kahi a*
 Ø ido -r' hindí bilí t- Ø -wa káh -i Ø
 Aux manner -L.Fr now today MP- Aux -Back say -3.Subj Aux
katibu kata
 katibu.kata
 chairman
like today they are called katibu kata [i.e. chairman of the quarter]
- 26 *alafu tawa sií'*
 alafu t- Ø -wa sií' ~`~
 then MP- Aux -Back refuse ~Pst~
so they refused

- 27 *heesi* *kuna*
 hee -ó -sí t- ng- u- Ø -na
 person -L.Mo -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf
leleéhh *ta* *bay* *Barandi* *Kulee*
 Red- leéhh ~'~ t- Ø báy ~LPA~ Barandí -ó Kulee -ó
 Plur- look.for Pst MP- Aux call ~Subj~ Barandí -L.Mo Kulee -L.Mo
this person who was sought was called Barandi Kulee
- 28 *nee* *Leelí* *oo* *dó'* *Tumla*
 nee Leelí oo do' -ó Tumla -ó
 and Leelí Ana.M house -L.Mo Tumla -L.Mo
and Leelí of the house of Tumla
- 29 *muukusi* *kina* *leleéhh*
 muu -kú -sí t- ng- i- Ø -na Red- leéhh ~'~
 people -L.Mk -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf Plur- look.for ~Pst~
kina *sláy*
 t- ng- i- Ø -na sláy ~'~
 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf get ~Pst~
these people were sought, they were got
- 30 *amama'ó* *kana* *óh*
 amama'ó -r' t- ng- a- Ø -na óh ~'~
 bird.sp. -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf catch ~Pst~
kay *huw*
 t- ng- a- Ø -ay húw ~LPA~
 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec bring ~Subj~
an amama'o [fork-tailed drongo] was caught, it was brought
- 31 *ma'aay* *kina* *alatleéhh*
 ma'aay -' t- ng- i- Ø -na alatleéhh ~'~
 water -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf make.together ~Pst~
medicine was made together
- 32 *ma'aay* *kawa* *tleéhh* *muukusi*
 ma'aay -' t- ng- a- Ø -wa tleéhh ~'~ muu -kú -sí
 water -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Back make ~Pst~ people -L.Mk -Dem2
masoombár *gawá* *tloomaa* *sleeme* *nina*
 masoomba -r' gawá tloomaa -r' sleeme ni -na
 youth -L.Fr on mountain -L.Fr all Vent -Imprf
wátl
 wátl ~'~
 return.(intrans.).F ~Pst~
medicine was made, those young men in the hill all returned home

- 33 *lawulu kina qaás*
lawulu -' t- ng- i- Ø -na qaás ~'~
spears -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf put ~Pst~
they put their spears [in the soil]
- 34 *kilo'in tina arxayé' amodi*
kilo'in t- i- Ø -na arxáy -iyé' amo -r' -dá' -i
themselves MP- S.3- Aux -Imprf go -N.Pst place -L.Fr -Dem4 -Ill
kiwa sla'i'
t- ng- i- Ø -wa slaá' -i'
MP- A.3- P.3.Pl Aux -Back want -3.Subj
they went themselves to the place where they were wanted
- 35 *amodá' kilò kiwa*
amo -r' -dá' kilo -r' ~`~ t- ng- i- Ø -wa
place -L.Fr -Dem4 weight -L.Fr ~Emph~ MP- A.3- P.3Pl Aux -Back
sla'i' kiwa pimimín
slaá' -i' t- ng- i- Ø -wa pimiím -m- ~'~
want -3.Subj MP- A.3- P.3Pl- Aux -Back measure -Ext- ~Pst~
a Babatì
Ø Babati -r' ~`~
Aux Babati -L.Fr ~Emph~
the place where their weight was wanted, they were weighed was Babati
- 36 *kina pimamín pimamín*
t- ng- i- Ø -na pimiím -m- ~'~ pimiím -Ext- ~'~
MP- A.3- P.3Pl- Aux -Imprf measure -Ext- ~Pst~ measure -Ext- ~Pst~
wa Babatì kilo kuúng
wa Babati -r' ~`~ kilo -r' kuúng
Prep.Abl Babati -L.Fr ~Emph~ weight -L.Fr ProPers.2Sg.M
bura sii' tun
bar- u- Ø -(g)a síí' ~'~ t- u- Ø -n
if- P.2Sg.M- Aux -Prf refuse ~Pst~ MP- P.2Sg.M- Aux -Expect
bay amorqá'
báy ~LPA~ amo -r' -qá'
call ~Subj~ place -L.Fr -Dem3
they were weighed they were weighed down in Babati, if your weight refused you were told “over there”

- 37 *kodá'* *kilo* *a* *ya/án*
ko -dá' kilo -r' i- Ø -(g)a ya/aám ~'~
Indef.M -Dem4 weight -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Prf agree ~Pst~
he whose weight was accepted
- 38 *kun* *bay* *tša/aám* *gawà*
t- ng- u- Ø -n báy ~LPA~ tša/aám-Ø gawà ~'~
MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Expect call ~Subj~ climb -Imp.Sg on ~Emph~
gawá gaari
gawá gaari -r' ~'~
on car -L.Fr ~Emph~
was told “climb up” into the vehicle
- 39 *tana* *idosi* *lawawín* *lawawín*
t- Ø -na ido -r' -sí Red- lawiím ~'~ Red- lawiím ~'~
MP- Aux -Imprf manner -L.Fr -Dem2 Plur- go.on ~Pst~ Plur- go.on ~Pst~
lawawín *koko* *ta* *slukún* *ta*
Red- lawiím ~'~ koko t- Ø sluúk -uúm ~'~ t- Ø
Plur- go.on ~Pst~ Indef.M MP- Aux bribe -Ext ~Pst~ MP- Aux
kahi *kilo* *a* *sií'*
káh -i kilo -r' i- Ø -(g)a sií' ~'~
say -3.Subj weight -L.Fr S.3 Aux -Prf refuse ~Pst~
they continued in this way, some bribed, they said “your weight refuses”
- 40 *slukumaqá'* *ar* *kuungá'* *ar* *bilihee* *koko*
slukuma -r' -qá' ar kuungá' ar bilí -oo koko
bribery -L.Fr -Dem3 Ana.F ProPers.2Pl Ana.F today -Top Indef.N
aqo *slukún* *na/ay* *ma*
Ø -qo sluúk -uúm ~'~ na/ay -ó m- i- Ø -(g)a
Aux -Emph bribe -Ext ~Pst~ child -L.Mo Prohib- S.3- Aux -Prf
daqáy *neer* *awù*
daqay ~'~ neer awu -ó ~'~
attend ~Pst~ with bull -L.Mo ~Emph~
that corruption is of you(pl.) of today only! some bribed that their child not go with a bull

- 41 *gitláy aree ge wawitumo awu ngu*
 gitláy ár -ee ge wawitumo -ó awu -ó ng- u- Ø
 hey see -Imp.Sg.O Emph chief -L.Mo bull -L.Mo A.3- P.M- Aux
hariís na/ay'é' ma
 hariís ~'~ na/ay -ó -'é' m- i- Ø -(g)a
 bring ~Pst~ child -L.Mo -Poss.1Sg Prohib- S.3- Aux -Prf
daqay
 daqay ~LPA~
 attend ~Subj~
“look, wawitumo, I will bring you a bull (that) my child doesn't go”
- 42 *tan oo'i isa' kilo*
 t- Ø -n oó' -i isa' kilo -r'
 MP- Aux -Expect say -3.Subj so-and-so weight -L.Fr
ngwa sii' ge
 ng- u- Ø -wa sii' ~'~ ge
 A.3- P.M- Aux -Back refuse ~Pst~ Emph
they would say “so-and-so, his weight refused”
- 43 *he'e kuungá' a xu'â*
 hee kuungá' Ø- Ø xuú' -a ~^~
 hey! ProPers.2Pl S.P- Aux know -Inf.Pres ~Q~
why, you(pl.) knew?
- 44 *kina idosír lalee lalee*
 t- ng- i- Ø -na ido -r' -sí -r lalee lalee
 MP- A.3- P.3Pl- Aux -Imprf manner -L.Fr -Dem2 -Instr continue continue
laleé lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee
 lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee
 continue continue continue continue continue continue continue continue
they continued in this way
- 45 *muu kilo'ín ina daqáy asma*
 muu -kú kilo'ín i- Ø -na daqay ~'~ asma
 people -L.Mk themselves S.3- Aux -Imprf attend ~Pst~ because
kwa tsuínq kwa
 t- ng- u- Ø -wa tsuúnq ~'~ t- ng- u- Ø -wa
 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back bewitch ~Pst~ MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back
tsanguús
 tsanguús ~'~
 lure ~Pst~
people went themselves because they were bewitched, they were drawn

- 46 *gár* *ta* *tleehh* *a* *tsangusa*
 ga -r' t- Ø -(g)a tleéhh ~LPA~ Ø tsangusa -r'
 thing -L.Fr MP- Aux -Prf make ~Subj~ Aux lure -L.Fr
- muu* *kuna* *tsanguús*
 muu -kú t- ng- u- Ø -na tsanguús ~'~
 people -L.Mk MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf lure ~Pst~
- iwa* *ya/àn*
 i- Ø -wa ya/án ~'~ ~`~
 S.3- Aux -Back be.possible ~Pst~ ~Emph~
they made something to draw people, people were drawn, they agreed
- 47 *gasi* *kana* *laleé* *laleé*
 ga -r' -sí t- ng- a- Ø -na laleé laleé
 thing -L.Fr -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf continue continue
- laleé*
 laleé
 continue
this thing continued
- 48 *tawa* *bu'uút* *ya*
 ta- Ø -wa bu'uút ~'~ ya
 Temp- Aux -Back be.enough ~Pst~ thus
- when it was enough, it was thus:**
- 49 *iimi* *tawa* *bu'uút* *tawa*
 iimi -r' ta- Ø -wa bu'uút ~'~ ta- Ø -wa
 people -L.Fr Temp- Aux -Back be.enough ~Pst~ Temp- Aux -Back
- hhe'eés*
 hhe'eés ~'~
 finish ~Pst~
when the people were enough, when they finished
- 50 *hardodá'* *ta* *slay* *tawa*
 harda -ó -dá' ta- Ø sláy ~LPA~ ta- Ø -wa
 quota -L.Mo -Dem4 Temp- Aux get ~Subj~ Temp- Aux -Back
- haáts* *hesabudá'*
 haáts ~'~ hesabu -dá'
 be.full ~Pst~ figure -Dem4
when they got their amount, when the figure was filled
- 51 *hesabudá'* *tawa* *haáts*
 hesabu -dá' ta- Ø -wa haáts ~'~
 figure -Dem4 Temp- Aux -Back be.full ~Pst~
when that figure was filled

- 52 *tawa* *tlatláy* *alkwi gaaridú*
 t- Ø -wa Red- tláw alkwí gaaridu -'
 MP- Aux -Back Plur- go now cars -L.NØ
kiwa *asloo- qaasi*
 t- ng- i- Ø -wa asloo qaas -i
 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back fires put -N
now they were going, the vehicles were fired up
- 53 *gaaridú* *kiwa* *asloo-qaasi*
 gaaridu -' t- ng- i- Ø -wa asloo- qaas -i
 cars -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back fires- put -N
tana *firín*
 t- Ø -na firiím ~'~
 MP- Aux -Imprf pray ~Pst~
the vehicles were fired up, they cursed
- 54 *tana* *oó'* *Dodoód* *atén*
 t- Ø -na oó' ~'~ Dodoód -ó atén
 MP- Aux -Imprf say ~Pst~ Dodoód -L.Mo ProPers.1Pl
kuúng
 kuúng
 ProPers.2Sg.M
they said “you - Dodoód! we...
- 55 *gitláy mita* *alu-/aayimaar* *ge*
 gitláy m- t- Ø -(g)a alu- /aay -ím -aar ge
 hey Prohib- MP- Aux -Prf rear eat -Ext -Imp.Neg Emph
don't (you) betray us!”
- 56 *tana* *firín* *wa* *gawá gaaridú*
 t- Ø -na firiím ~'~ wa gawá gaaridu -' ~'~
 MP- Aux -Imprf pray ~Pst~ Prep.Abl on cars -L.NØ ~Emph~
they cursed from the vehicles
- 57 *gidabá* *atén* *aga* *qaro* *bará hoomaa*
 gidabá atén Ø- Ø -(g)a qaro bará hoomaa -r'
 that ProPers.1Pl A.P- Aux -Prf already in foreigners -L.Fr
kawaán *agaqo* *qwanáy* *awaán*
 káw -aán ~'~ Ø- Ø -(g)a -qo qwanay -ó áw -aán ~'~
 go -1.Pl ~Pst~ S.P- Aux -Prf -Emph loss -L.Mo go -1.Pl ~Pst~
timtindin *tsuu/*
 t- m- tindi- Ø -n tsuú/ ~LPA~
 MP- Q- P.1Pl- Aux -Expect kill ~Subj~
“that we have already gone among strangers, we are going to be lost,

aren't we going to be killed?"

- 58 *tam milá tam mareerén na/arén*
tam milá tam maree -' -rén na/a' -' -rén
 Concess what Concess houses -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl children -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl
- tam inqo araán tam*
tam Ø- i- Ø -n -qo ár -aán ~'~ tam
 Concess A.P- P.N- Aux -Expect -Emph see -1.Pl ~Pst~ Concess
- an ki/aan amór*
Ø- Ø -n kí/ -aán ~LPA~ amo -r'
 A.P- Aux -Expect return.(intr.) -1.Pl ~Subj~ place -L.Fr
- na/aarén xu'aanaká*
na/a' -' -rén xuú' -aán -akáng
 children -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl know -1.Pl -Neg.Pres
"even our houses, our children, we don't know if we will see them, we don't even know if we shall return to our children"
- 59 *kuú sleeme mit*
kuúng sleeme m- t- Ø
 ProPers.2Sg.M also Prohib- MP- Aux
- alu-/aayimaar*
alu- /aay -ím -aar
 rear- eat -Ext.2 -Imp.Neg
"you - don't betray us!"
- 60 *Dodó kuna firín*
Dodó -ó t- ng- u- Ø -na firiím ~'~
 Dodó -L.Mo MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf pray ~Pst~
Dodó was cursed at
- 61 *iimi ina /ét*
iimi -r' i- Ø -na /ét ~'~
 people -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Imprf go.down.F ~Pst~
people had already gone down [i.e. at the borderland]

- 62 *pakani* *kana* *tlehhahhiit*
 pakani -r' t- ng- a- Ø -na Red- tleéhh -iít ~'~
 borderland -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~

 tlehhahhiit *tlehhahhiit* *kina*
 Red- tleéhh -iít ~'~ Red- tleéhh -iít ~'~ t- ng- i- Ø -na
 Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~ Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf

 fundumamiis *fundumamiis* *fundumamiis*
 fundiís -m- ~'~ fundiís -m- ~'~ fundiís -m- ~'~
 teach -Ext- ~Pst~ teach -Ext- ~Pst~ teach -Ext- ~Pst~

 ay *slehheeri* *lehhó*
 ay slehheeri -' lehhó
 Prep.Ill months -L.NØ six
**at the borderland they worked and worked and were taught and taught for
 six months**
- 63 *slehheeri* *lehhó ki* */aay*
 slehheeri -' lehhó t- ng- i- Ø /aáy ~LPA~
 month -L.NØ six MP- A.3- P.N- Aux eat ~Subj~

 baradee
 bará -dá' -oo
 in -Dem4 -Top
six months were finished down there
- 64 *slehheeri* *lehhó birna* *faaki'* *iimi*
 slehheeri -' lehhó bar- i- Ø -na faák -í' iimi -r'
 month -L.NØ six if- S.3- Aux -Imprf finish -N.Subj people -L.Fr

 nina *wátl*
 ni -na wátl ~'~
 Vent -Imprf go.home.F ~Pst~
when six months had ended, the people returned
- 65 *ka* *qaro* *fundiís*
 t- ng- a- Ø qaro fundiís ~'~
 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux already teach ~Pst~
they had already been taught
- 66 *ga* *aqo* *askari*
 ga -r' Ø -qo askari -r'
 thing -L.Fr Aux -Emph soldier -L.Fr
they were soldiers

- 67 *gár* *ta* *askari* *káhh* *ar*
 ga -r' *t- Ø* *askari -r'* *kaáhh ~'~* *ar*
 thing -L.Fr MP- Aux soldier -L.Fr be.absent ~Pst~ Ana.F
- ta* *xu'iká* *kàhh*
 t- Ø *xuú' -ikáng* *kaáhh ~`~*
 MP- Aux know -Neg.Pst be.absent ~Emph~
 there was nothing of being a soldier that they didn't know
- 68 *umó garoo* *Keengereesa* *iimi*
 umó ga -r' -oo *Keengereesa -r'* *iimi -r'*
 every thing -L.Fr -Top English -L.Fr people -L.Fr
- kan* *xuu'*
 t- ng- a- Ø -n *xuú' ~LPA~*
 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Expect know ~Subj~
 everything - people knew English
- 69 *lakini heé* *ta* *gaas* *kaahh* *tam* *oo*
 lakini hee -ó *t- Ø* *gaás ~LPA~* *kaáhh* *tam* *oo*
 but person -L.Mo MP- Aux kill ~Subj~ be.absent Concess Ana.M
- wák asma* *ma'aaydá'* *ta* *tleéhh*
 wák asma *ma'aay -' -dá'* *t- Ø* *tleéhh ~'~*
 one because water -L.NØ -Dem4 MP- Aux make ~Pst~
 but there were no casualties, not even one, because medicine had been made
- 70 *aáng* *ka* *tsuúinq*
 aáng *t- ng- a- Ø -(g)a* *tsuúinq ~'~*
 in.the.past MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Prf bewitch ~Pst~
 they had been blessed
- 71 *a* *tsir'idá'* *ta* *tsuúinq* *wa*
 Ø *tsir/i -r' -dá'* *t- Ø* *tsuúinq ~'~* *wa*
 Aux bird -L.Fr -Dem4 MP- Aux bewitch ~Pst~ Prep.Abl
- dirí* *amama'o* *a* *tleér*
 di -r' -í *amama'ó -r'* *i- Ø -(g)a* *tláw ~'~*
 place -L.Fr -Dem1 bird.sp. -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Prf go ~Pst~
- ay* *baraqá'*
 ay *bará -ó -qá'*
 Prep.Vent side -L.Mo -Dem3
 it was that bird that had been bewitched here, the *amama'o* [fork-tailed drongo] had gone there

- 72 *niwa* *kií/* *tana* *oó'* *muu*
 ni -wa *kií/* ~'~ t- Ø -na *oó'* ~'~ *muu* -kú
 Vent -Back return.(intr.) ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Imprf say ~Pst~ person -L.Mk

 nin *waatl* *gár* *tlaakw* *káhh*
 ni -n *waatl* ~LPA~ ga -r' *tlaakw* *káhh*
 Vent -Expect return.(intrans.) ~Subj~ thing -L.Fr bad.F.Sg be.absent.F

 tam *ar* *ninaaw*
 tam ar *ninaaw*
 Concess Ana.F small.F.Sg
it returned and it said “the people will return, everything is alright, not even anything small [will happen]”
- 73 *xay*
 xay
 Emph
so
- 74 *tindiwa* *tana* *tindiwa*
 ta- ni -wa t- Ø -na ta- ni -wa
 MP- Vent -Back MP- Aux -Imprf MP- Vent -Back

 waátl
 waátl ~'~
 return.(intrans.) ~Pst~
when they returned
- 75 *tare* *daá'*
 t- Ø -re *daá'* ~'~
 MP- Aux -Consec sing ~Pst~
they sang
- 76 *Gorwaa* *Dodó* *kuna*
 Gorwaa -' *Dodó* -ó t- ng- u- Ø -na
 Gorwaa.people -L.NØ *Dodó* -L.Mo MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf

 da'aangwa *óh*
 da'aangw -ó -wa *óh* ~'~
 song -L.Mo -Prep.Abl catch ~Pst~
the Gorwaa made a song of Dodó
- 77 *Gorwaa* *niwa* *watliyi'*
 Gorwaa -' ni -wa *waátl* -iyí'
 Gorwaa.people -L.NØ Vent -Back return.(intrans.) -N.Pst
the Gorwaa returned home

- 78 *ta* *kahi'* *Dodó* *haylee* *he* *Dodó* *he*
t- Ø *káh -iyí'* *Dodó -ó* *haylee* *he* *Dodó -ó* *he*
MP- Aux say -N.Pst *Dodó -L.Mo* *haylee* *hey* *Dodó -L.Mo* *hey*
they sang “Dodó haylee he Dodó he
- 79 *dó'* *Uwo* *he*
do' -ó *Uwo -ó* *he*
house -L.Mo *Uwo -L.Mo* *hey*
“of the house of Uwo he
- 80 *dó'* *Dodó* *Uwo* *kuú* *kura*
do' -ó *Dodó -ó* *Uwo -ó* *kuúng* *kura -tá*
house -L.Mo *Dodó -L.Mo* *Uwo -L.Mo* ProPers.2Sg.M *anus -L.Ft*

mahhee *Dodó* *atén* *na*
maáhh -ee *Dodó -ó* *atén* *ni -(g)a*
lick -Imp.Sg.O *Dodó -L.Mo* ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf

watlaán
waátl *-aán ~'~*
return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
“the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our arses Dodó, we have returned
- 81 *Dodó* *he*
Dodó -ó *he*
Dodó -L.Mo *hey*
“Dodó he
- 82 *dó'* *Uwo* *atén* *na*
do' -ó *Uwo -ó* *atén* *ni -(g)a*
house -L.Mo *Uwo -L.Mo* ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf

watlaán
waátl *-aán ~'~*
return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
“of the house of Uwo, we have returned
- 83 *kuú* *Dodó* *kura* *mahhee*
kuúng *Dodó -ó* *kura -tá* *maáhh -ee*
ProPers.2Sg.M *Dodó -L.Mo* *anus -L.Ft* *lick -Imp.Sg.O*
“you Dodó lick (our) arses
- 84 *Tsoxolí* *hayle* *Tsoxolí*
Tsoxolí -ó *hayle* *Tsoxolí -ó*
Tsoxolí -L.Mo *hayle* *Tsoxolí -L.Mo*
“Tsoxoli hayle Tsoxoli

- 78 *ta* *kahi'* *Dodó* *haylee* *he* *Dodó* *he*
 t- \emptyset *káh -iyí'* *Dodó -ó* *haylee* *he* *Dodó -ó* *he*
 MP- Aux say -N.Pst *Dodó -L.Mo* *haylee* *hey* *Dodó -L.Mo* *hey*
 they sang “Dodó haylee he Dodó he
- 79 *dó'* *Uwo* *he*
 do' -ó *Uwo -ó* *he*
 house -L.Mo *Uwo -L.Mo* *hey*
 “of the house of Uwo he
- 80 *dó'* *Dodó* *Uwo* *kuú* *kura*
 do' -ó *Dodó -ó* *Uwo -ó* *kuúng* *kura -tá*
 house -L.Mo *Dodó -L.Mo* *Uwo -L.Mo* ProPers.2Sg.M anus -L.Ft

 mahhee *Dodó* *atén* *na*
 maáhh -ee *Dodó -ó* *atén* *ni -(g)a*
 lick -Imp.Sg.O *Dodó -L.Mo* ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf

 watlaán
 waátl -aán ~'~
 return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
 “the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our arses Dodó, we have returned
- 81 *Dodó* *he*
 Dodó -ó *he*
 Dodó -L.Mo *hey*
 “Dodó he
- 82 *dó'* *Uwo* *atén* *na*
 do' -ó *Uwo -ó* *atén* *ni -(g)a*
 house -L.Mo *Uwo -L.Mo* ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf

 watlaán
 waátl -aán ~'~
 return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
 “of the house of Uwo, we have returned
- 83 *kuú* *Dodó* *kura* *mahhee*
 kuúng *Dodó -ó* *kura -tá* *maáhh -ee*
 ProPers.2Sg.M *Dodó -L.Mo* anus -L.Ft lick -Imp.Sg.O
 “you Dodó lick (our) arses
- 84 *Tsoxolí* *hayle* *Tsoxolí*
 Tsoxolí -ó *hayle* *Tsoxolí -ó*
 Tsoxolí -L.Mo *hayle* *Tsoxolí -L.Mo*
 “Tsoxoli hayle Tsoxoli

- 85 *dó'* *Nyumba* *heé* *lama*
do' -ó Nyumba -ó hee -ó lama -tá
house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft
“of the house of Nyumba, a man of lies
- 86 *Tsoxolí* *heé* *lama*
Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó lama -tá
Tsoxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft
“Tsoxoli a man of lies
- 87 *Tsoxolí* *heé* *lama* *dó'* *Nyumba*
Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó lama -tá do' -ó Nyumba -ó
Tsoxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo

heé *lama*
hee -ó lama -tá
person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft
“Tsoxoli a man of lies of the house of Nyumba a man of lies
- 88 *Tsoxolí* *heé* *dó'* *Dodó* *Uwo*
Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó do' -ó Dodó -ó Uwo -ó
Tsoxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo house -L.Mo Dodó -L.Mo Uwo -L.Mo

kuú *kura* *mahheek*
kuúng kura -tá maáhh -ee
ProPers.2Sg.M anus -L.Ft lick -Imp.Sg.O
“Tsoxoli a person of the house of Dodó Uwo, lick (our) arses
- 89 *Dodó* *atén* *na* *watlaán*
Dodó -ó atén ni -(g)a waátl -aán ~'~
Dodó -L.Mo ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
“Dodó we have returned
- 90 *Dodó* *he*
Dodó -ó he
Dodó -L.Mo hey
“Dodó hey
- 91 *heelo* *hayle* *he* *Dodó* *Uwo* *hayle* *he*
heelo hayle he Dodó -ó Uwo -ó hayle he
heelo hayle hey Dodó -L.Mo Uwo -L.Mo hayle hey
“heelo hayle he Dodó Uwo hayle he

- 92 *Tsoxolí* *he* *Tsoxolí* *dó'* *Nyumba*
 Tsoxolí -ó he Tsoxolí -ó do' -ó Nyumba -ó
 Tsoxolí -L.Mo hey Tsoxolí -L.Mo house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo
 hayle motloo
 hayle motloo
 hayle tomorrow
 “Tsoxoli *he* Tsoxoli of the house of Nyumba *hayle* tomorrow
- 93 *orojo* *he* *he*
 orojo he he
 hey.everyone hey hey
 “hey countrymen *he he*
- 94 *Dodó* *kuúng* *kura* *mahhee*
 Dodó -ó kuúng kura -tá maáhh -ee
 Dodó -L.Mo ProPers.2Sg.M anus -L.Ft lick -Imp.Sg.O
 “Dodó lick (our) arses
- 95 *dó'* *Uwo* *he*
 do' -ó Uwo -ó he
 house -L.Mo Uwo -L.Mo hey
 “of the house of Uwo *he*
- 96 *Dodó* *atén* *na* *watlaán*
 Dodó -ó atén ni -(g)a waátl -aán ~'~
 Dodó -L.Mo ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
 “Dodó we have returned
- 97 *Tsoxolí* *hayle* *Tsoxolí*
 Tsoxolí -ó hayle Tsoxolí -ó
 Tsoxolí -L.Mo hayle Tsoxolí -L.Mo
 “Tsoxoli *hayle* Tsoxoli
- 98 *dó'* *Nyumba* *hayle motloo*
 do' -ó Nyumba -ó hayle motloo
 house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo hayle tomorrow
 “of the house of Nyumba *hayle* tomorrow
- 99 *Tsoxolí* *kwa* *heé* *lama* *dó'*
 Tsoxolí -ó kuú Ø hee -ó lama -tá do' -ó
 Tsoxolí -L.Mo ProPers.2Sg.M Aux person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft house -L.Mo
 Nyumba *he*
 Nyumba -ó he
 Nyumba -L.Mo hey
 “Tsoxoli you are a liar of the house of Nyumba hey

- 100 *orojo* *he*
 orojo *he*
 hey.everyone hey
 “hey countrymen *he*”
- 101 *aluwo ya*
 aluwo ya
 then thus
 then
- 102 *Dodoód*
 Dodoód -ó
 Dodoód -L.Mo
 Dodoód
- 103 *ina* *tláy*
 i- Ø -na *tláw ~'~*
 S.3- Aux -Imprf *go ~Pst~*
 he went
- 104 *ina* *dir* *muukudá'* *oo* *tluway*
 i- Ø -na *di -r'* *muu -kú -dá'* *oo* *tluway -ó*
 S.3- Aux -Imprf place -L.Fr *people -L.Mk -Dem4* *Ana.M rain -L.Mo*
 káy
 káy ~'~
 go ~Pst~
 he went to the place of the rainmakers
- 105 *dó'* *Ngawdá'* *nguna* *káy*
 do' -ó *Ngawdá' -ó* *ng- u- Ø -na* *káy ~'~*
 house -L.Mo *Ngawdá' -L.Mo* *A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf* *go ~Pst~*
 he went to the house of Ngawdá'
- 106 *xay*
 xay
 Emph
 hey

- 107 *giyeeé* *ngina* *leéhh* *dir*
giyeeé -r' *ng-* a- \emptyset -na *leéhh* ~'~ *di* -r'
 famine -L.Fr A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf look.for ~Pst~ place -L.Fr
a *káy* *tam* *an* *dó'*
i- \emptyset -(g)a *káy* ~'~ *tam* \emptyset -n *do'* -ó
 MP.S.3- Aux -Prf go.M ~Pst~ Concess Aux -Expect house -L.Mo
Ngawdá' *tam* *an* *dá'* *Alawa*
Ngawdá' -ó *tam* \emptyset -n *dá'* *Alawa* -ó
Ngawdá' -L.Mo Concess Aux -Expect hey *Alawa* -L.Mo
do'oko *ngwa* *káy*
do' -ó -ko *ng-* u- \emptyset -wa *káy* ~'~
 house -L.Mo -Indef.M A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~
he went looking for famine, the place he went I don't know, Ngawdá' or Alawa, he went to one of those houses
- 108 *do'dá'* *hindi* *aní* *uga* *slawikáng*
do' -ó -dá' *hindi* *aní* \emptyset - u- \emptyset -(g)a *sláw* -ikáng
 house -L.Mo -Dem4 now ProPers.1Sg A.P- P.M- Aux -Prf get -Neg.Pst
I'm not getting (i.e. I can't remember) that house now
- 109 *dosi* *ngwa* *káy* *giyee*
do' -ó -sí *ng-* u- \emptyset -wa *káy* ~'~ *giyeeé* -r'
 house -L.Mo -Dem2 A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~ famine -L.Fr
na *tleér*
ni -(g)a *tleer* ~'~
 Vent -Prf go.F ~Pst~
he went to that house and famine came
- 110 *xay*
xay
 Emph
hey
- 111 *giyeeé* *na* *tleér* *kureerí* *tám*
giyeeé -r' *ni* -(g)a *tleer* ~'~ *kureeri* -' *tám*
 famine -L.Fr Vent -Prf go.F ~Pst~ years -L.NØ three
famine came for three years
- 112 *ar* *Gorwaa* *qwari*
ar *Gorwaa* -' *qwari* -kú
 Ana.F Gorwaa.people -L.NØ hunger -L.Mk
for the Gorwaa - hunger

- 113 *giyee na tleér asma Dodó*
giyeeé -r' ni -(g)a tleér ~'~ asma Dodó -ó
 famine -L.Fr Vent -Prf go.F ~Pst~ because Dodó -L.Mo
kuwa firín
t- ng- u- Ø -wa firín ~'~
 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back pray.M ~Pst~
the famine came because Dodó was disrespected [lit. prayed for]
- 114 *i kah ihii ahheè kuungá' aní*
i- Ø káh -i ihii ahheè kuungá' aní
 S.3- Aux say -3.Subj Exclam. Exclam. ProPers.2Pl ProPers.1Sg
burtunduna /etiis aní
bar- tundu- Ø -na /eét -iis ~'~ aní
 if- P.2.Pl- Aux -Imprf go.down -Ext ~Pst~ ProPers.1Sg
misa firindé'
m- i- Ø -s -(g)a firiím -é' ~'~
 Q- P.1Sg- Aux -Reason -Prf pray -2Pl ~Pst~
aní kuungá' tundun hhamís-slaa'
aní kuungá' tundu- Ø -n hhamís- slaá' ~LPA~
 ProPers.1Sg ProPers.2Pl P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect defeat- love ~Subj~
aní tundun gwa'arár slaá'
aní tundu- Ø -n gwa'ara -r' slaá' ~LPA~
 ProPers.1Sg P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect death -L.Fr want ~Subj~
such that he [Dodó] said “ah, harrumph, those who were sent, why are they disrespecting me? I want you(pl.) to die!”
- 115 *idodá' kwa firín giyee*
ido -r' -dá' t- ng- u- Ø -wa firín ~'~ giyeeé -r'
 manner -L.Fr -Dem4 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back pray ~Pst~ famine -L.Fr
ngina leéhh
ng- a- Ø -na leéhh ~'~
 A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf look.for ~Pst~
in that way he was cursed, famine was brought
- 116 *tsee/amá nina paá/ kureeri*
tsee/amá -' ni -na paá/ ~'~ kureeri -'
 sunshine -L.NØ Vent -Imprf shine.(of.sun) ~Pst~ years -L.NØ
aree
ár -ee
 see -Imp.Sg.O
the sun shone harshly for - look [gestures 'three'] years

- 117 *iimi na qwarít*
iimi -r' ni -(g)a qwarít ~'~
 people -L.Fr Vent -Prf hunger.F ~Pst~
people went hungry
- 118 *tluway kaàhh*
tluway -ó kaáhh ~`~
 rain -L.Mo be.absent ~Emph~
there was no rain
- 119 *tluway bira thuiw aluwo in*
tluway -ó bar- i- Ø -(g)a tluúw ~'~ aluwo i- Ø -n
 rain -L.Mo if- S.3- Aux -Prf rain ~Pst~ then S.3- Aux -Expect
tsatiit balaangw'in tawa
tsaát -iít ~'~ balaangw -ó -'ín t- Ø -wa
 cut -Ext ~Pst~ millet -L.Mo -Poss.3Pl MP- Aux -Back
kaàhh
kaáhh ~`~
 be.absent ~Emph~
if it rained, it soon stopped, their millet went to nothing
- 120 *hamarikáng*
hamaár -ikáng
 ripen. -Neg.Pst
it didn't ripen
- 121 *bare tawa babáy tawa*
bare t- Ø -wa babáy ~'~ t- Ø -wa
 whoever MP- Aux -Back continue ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Back
babáy tawa babáy
babáy ~'~ t- Ø -wa babáy ~'~
 continue ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Back continue ~Pst~
tawa slahhahhá
t- Ø -wa Red- slahhá ~'~
 MP- Aux -Back Plur hurt.(intrans) ~Pst~
so they continued, when they were hurt
- 122 *tare axweés barisee ire*
t- Ø -re axweés ~'~ barisee -r' i- Ø -re
 MP- Aux -Consec speak ~Pst~ old.men -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Consec
iwít yaamù
iwiít ~'~ yaamú ~`~
 sit ~Pst~ down ~Emph~
they spoke, the elders sat down

- 123 *bariseér mila ina iwít yaamù*
barisee -r' mila i- Ø -na iwít ~'~ yaamù ~'~
old.men -L.Fr custom S.3- Aux -Imprf sit.F ~Pst~ down ~Emph~
tare axwemamiís axwemamiís
t- Ø -re axweés -m- -iís ~'~ axweés -m- -iís ~'~
MP- Aux -Consec speak -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~ speak -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~
the customary elders sat down, they talked and talked
- 124 *gasi kare sláy tare*
ga -r' -sí t- ng- a- Ø -re sláy ~'~ t- Ø -re
thing -L.Fr -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec get ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Consec
yiikwá huw
yiikwa -' húw ~LPA~
cattle -L.NØ bring ~Subj~
they settled up [lit. got] this, they sent a cow
- 125 *yiikwa kare huw dó'*
yiikwa -' t- ng- a- Ø -re húw ~LPA~ do' -ó
cattle -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec bring ~Subj~ house -L.Mo
Dodoód
Dodoód -ó
Dodoód -L.Mo
a cow was brought to the house of Dodoód
- 126 *ta nanahaángw ay gidabá gitláy kar*
t- Ø nanahaangw -ó ay ~LPA~ gidabá gitláy kara
MP- Aux begging -L.Mo go ~Subj~ that hey so
na'as gitláy thuway i thuwi
na'as gitláy tluway -ó i- Ø tluuw -i
please hey rain -L.Mo S.3- Aux rain -3.Subj
they begged him that "please, that it rains"
- 127 *gitláy na'as*
gitláy na'as
hey please
"please"
- 128 *gár afkudá' ya a afkudá'*
ga -r' afa -kú -dá' ya Ø afa -kú -dá'
thing -L.Fr mouth -L.Mk -Dem4 thus Aux mouth -L.Mk -Dem4
ya tawa loori-huw
ya t- Ø -wa loori húw ~'~
thus MP- Aux -Back lorry bring ~Pst~
"if it is about the language when the vehicles carried (us)"

- 129 *afkudá'* *amór* *hhoo*
afa -kú -dá' amo -r' hhoo
mouth -L.Mk -Dem4 place -L.Fr good.F
"we take back those words"
- 130 *afkudá'* *amór* *hhoo*
afa -kú -dá' amo -r' hhoo
mouth -L.Mk -Dem4 place -L.Fr good.F
"we take back those words"
- 131 *yiikwa* *kina* *hariís*
yiikwa -' t- ng- i- Ø -na hariís ~'~
cattle -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf give ~Pst~
they brought cows
- 132 *yiikwa* *kiwa* *hariís* *thuwáy*
yiikwa -' t- ng- i- Ø -wa hariís ~'~ *thuwáy* -'
cattle -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back give ~Pst~ rain -L.NØ

iimi *ire* *thuíw* *iimi*
iimi -r' i- Ø -re *thuíw* ~'~ iimi -r'
people -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Consec rain ~Pst~ people -L.Fr

ire */aayínd*
i- Ø -re */aáy -índ* ~'~
S.3- Aux -Consec eat -Ext.F ~Pst~
they brought cows, the people's rain came, the people ate
- 133 *shiida* *ire* *dirí* *alkwí*
shiida -r' i- Ø -re di -r' -í alkwí
problem -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Consec place -L.Fr -Dem1 now

axweesani *a* *fák*
axweesani -tá i- Ø -(g)a fák ~'~
utterance -L.Ft S.3- Aux -Prf finish.F ~Pst~
the problems of this place now, (and) the discussions had ended
- 134 *iimi* *ire* */aayínd* *tare*
iimi -r' i- Ø -re */aáy -índ* ~'~ t- Ø -re
people -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Consec eat -Ext.F ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Consec

kii/ bará axama bará qwala/u
kii/ bará axama -kú bará qwala/u -ó
return in satiety -L.Mk in happiness -L.Mo
and the people ate and they returned to satiety, to happiness

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